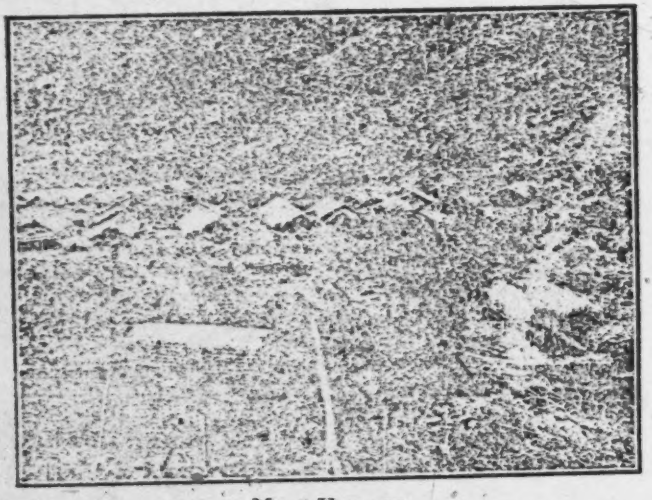
/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p. 89]

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.



MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

174 the earth", fit only to be their helots and serfs. Shy and timid, and always surrounded by these more powerful neighbours, the Miao had lost the power to assert themselves, and content to be serfs, they tilled the land of their lairds whose chattels they had become. It was as though the thick mists, which settle on the tops of the mountain ranges in the out-of-the-way places where the Flowery Miao dwell, had fallen upon their hearts and minds so that they could scarcely see. They lived in the Slough of Despond.

273 Both men and women were much given to drinking, the spirits which they drank being dis-
579 tilled from grain. Festivals, marriages and sacrifices were all occasions for reckless drinking when they seemed to glory in their shame and frequently could be seen helplessly drunk. Some of their drinking bouts would go on for three days and nights when the sounds of drunken revelry could be heard all over the villages.

836 The relation between the sexes was very lax and practically every village or hamlet had its "Flowery House", where the boys and girls spent their nights together. Many a young mother did not know who was the father of her child, and it has been said that at one time no girl over the age of fourteen was still a virgin.

771 Their religion was a kind of Animism. The spirit world is as real to them as the living world, though there appears to be no trace of what we may call the greater gods. In a vague way they believed in the transmigration of souls, and they certainly

7: Clarke M-3 . (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts.

To help the reader to understand the conditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao.

Two or three years ago when we were at Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

579 628 these bands were made up of Chinese and Miao. Not infrequently Yamen runners and soldiers are connected with these bands and go out with them on their marauding expeditions. Some of the local gentry and Justices of the Peace, too, are often in league with them and share the plunder.

579 651 As far as we are able to judge, the Miao are not difficult to govern. They are not turbulent people, and if let alone or justly treated would never cause any trouble. But they do assert themselves sometimes even now, when the extortion of Yamen tax-gatherers drives them to desperation. Four years ago when Mr. and Mrs. B. Curtis Waters were travelling from Tushan to Kweiyang, they put up at an inn in the prefectural city of Tuyün. Suddenly about two thousand Heh Miao marched into the city armed with swords, spears, and guns. They called out to the shopkeepers and people in the street not to be afraid, they would not rob or injure them, all they wanted was the Prefect, and him they were going to kill. They rushed into the Prefect's Yamen, and wounded one of the secretaries whom they mistook for the Prefect, and the Prefect had time to escape. That revolt was provoked by the Yamen tax-collectors, who, under the pretext of founding

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

schools, squeezed the Miao unmercifully. The District or County magistrate, whose Yamen was within the city, reasoned with them and persuaded them to go away. They returned to their homes, and later on the affair was settled by the nominal punishment of some of the Miao and a more just collection of the education rate.

Of all the Miao in Kweichow, the Heh or Black Miao are the most intelligent and the most self-reliant. Most of them own the land they cultivate, many of them are well-to-do, and in many respects they seem nearly equal, if not quite equal, to the Chinese peasantry around them. We have observed, however, that the artisans among them are neither so skilful nor so trustworthy as those among the Chinese. The Heh Miao not only bring their cattle and produce to market, but many of them engage in trade and open stalls on the market-place. Some of them buy pigs, rice, and other local products, and carry them for sale in their own boats to Hungkiang in Hunan. On the river that flows from Kai-li to Kienyang Hun, fifteen miles above Hungkiang, all the boatmen appear to be Miao. Elsewhere, however, the Miao seem to be poorer and inferior to the Chinese and Chung-chia. In Weining

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

[199 cont.]

(III) The Moon Dance. The moon dance in the fourth month
535 is the nocturnal meeting of the Miao-I in the An-shun area. Ac-
832 cording to Miao-I customs, whenever the moon and the stars are bright, young men and women may go out at this period of the year in groups of a few persons or a dozen or more each to some quiet, lonely spots in the vicinity of the village to play music and dance. The steps for the dance are the same as those for the flower dance. Young girls who are attracted by the music are not prevented by parents from running out to watch the dance. A man's glory is to extract a smile from a girl, and when her parents are not taking notice he may take her to the woods to whisper to her honeyed words of love. Therefore, the moon dance is an occasion for love-making by the Miao-I youths.

(IV) The "Kan-piao." The moon dance described above
517 provides night recreations and scenes of love serenades for the
832 Miao-I. The "kan-piao" is another form of recreation that gives men and women a chance to fall in love, but it may be pursued during night or day. The "kan-piao" is also known by various names such as "ta-ma-lan," "yao-ma-lang," "ta-piao," and "ling-piao." To perform it, the man would first whistle
[534] by means of some leaves in the mouth or play the flute as a signal to entice the lover to some shaded nook to exchange lovers' vows. An ideal place for "kan-piao" is a deep forest out of reach of human footsteps. In former times, in isolated places outside the village, there were erected little sheds called "flower chambers" for the rendezvous of young men and women. These flower chambers, however, are now nine out of ten destroyed. Ordinarily, when they carry on "kan-piao," the man would take the girl home, otherwise he would be accused of kidnapping. If a girl takes a man home, her parents would
[574] not only leave them alone, but are also obliged to kill a chicken and provide wine in order to show the graciousness of their daughter in receiving guests. The custom of "kan-piao" is most popular with the Chung-chia in the An-shun district. They have comparatively fewer forms of recreation than the Hua Miao, and the young people among them often indulge in "kan-piao" as a
[579] happy pastime. Often in "kan-piao" a man gets into a fight

[199 cont.]
517 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking
832 enemies," are not infrequent.
579

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the
534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 蘆笙, from the word "lu" 蘆, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con-
[832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com-
533 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.